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ABSTRACT

To evaluate the significance of matching Hispanic "consumers" to Hispanic "experts," a series of three studies investigated counselor preferences among lower division Hispanic and Anglo students, students' preference for counselors' directive, non-directive, or neutral communication styles, and patterns in students' self-disclosure according to counselor's sex and ethnicity. In Study 1, 141 Hispanic and 242 Anglo students were asked to read a portfolio about a counselor. All portfolios were identical except for the counselor's name, sex, and ethnicity. Portfolios were administered three times, with more information provided about the counselor each time. In Study 2, 4 doctoral students (male and female Hispanic, male and female Anglo) administered Jourard's (1971) Self-Disclosure Questionnaire in directive, non-directive, and neutral verbal styles to 811 college sophomores. In Study 3, 4 doctoral students used a neutral stance to administer Jourard's Questionnaire to 155 Anglo and 119 Hispanic undergraduate students. Results of Study 1 suggested that Anglo and Hispanic students might feel equally comfortable with Anglo or Hispanic counselors. However, results of Study 3 indicated that specific self-report, self-disclosure patterns varied with the counselor's sex and ethnicity. Study 2 indicated that Anglo males and females and Hispanic females all preferred directive communication about some topics, depending upon the counselor's sex and ethnicity. (CM)

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A DIALOGUE SERIES Monograph

New Dimensions in Cross-Cultural Counseling: Some Anglo/Hispanic Comparisons

by

Elaine LeVine, Ph.D.

and

Juan Franco, Ph.D.

A Presentation in the College of Education
DIALOGUE SERIES

Tuesday, December 2, 1980

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NEW DIMENSIONS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING:

SOME ANGLO/HISPANIC COMPARISONS

A Presentation to the College of Education

DIALOGUE SERIES

New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico

by

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College of Education
New Mexico State University

December 2, 1980

New Dimensions in Cross-Cultural Counseling:

Some Anglo/Hispanic Comparisons

Introduction

It has been frequently documented in social science literature that Hispanic minority groups are less actively engaged in major United States institutions and less likely to employ extant social services than are Anglos and other ethnic minorities (LeVine & Padilla, 1980). For example, educational drop-out rate is extremely high among Hispanics. According to U. S. Census Bureau data (1977), less than 61% of Hispanic citizens are high school graduates (in comparison to 86% Anglos), yet a large number of studies document intense interest in educational pursuits among a variety of Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban samples (Carter, 1970; Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, & York, 1966; Rogg, 1974). Similar to this documentation of limited engagement in U. S. educational institutions, other surveys demonstrate that Hispanic representation in the U. S. political arena is low. Until the last 10 years, there have been very few Hispanic lawyers, politicians, and government bureaucrats (Acuña, 1972; LeVine & Padilla, 1980). Further, despite the critical need for good health care as evidenced by a significantly higher death and infant mortality rate among Hispanics than Anglos (Ellis, 1962; Moustafa, & Weiss, 1968), there is a much higher incidence of untreated physical and psychological ailments among Hispanics than among Anglos (Padilla & Ruiz, 1973).

What are the barriers blocking Hispanics' full use of United State institutional supports? Clearly, many of the barriers occur on complex socio-political levels. Institutional racism bred through prejudicial or insensitive economic, educational, housing, legal, and political policies discourage many Hispanics from employing American institutional supports (Karno & Edgerton, 1969; LeVine & Padilla, 1980; Padilla & Ruiz, 1973).

On top of the socio-political barrier of institutional racism in limiting Hispanics' use of American institutions, it has also been theorized that blocks occur on more personal levels. If we label the decision-making employees of these governmental, legal, educational, medical, and mental health agencies as "experts" and the Hispanics coming to these agencies as the "consumers," we can summarize this argument as: differences in interpersonal communication style between the potential Hispanic consumers and the institutional experts who are Anglo or ascribe to an Anglo orientation impede Hispanics' interaction with American institutions.

A number of social scientists have suggested that Hispanics will not be active consumers and participants in the U. S. institutions until more Hispanics serve as experts within these institutions (Palomares & Haro, 1971; Padilla & Ruiz, 1973). However, empirical data do not consistently support this contention. For example, the role of ethnicity in determining the effectiveness of therapy outcome has been the subject of numerous studies, and results are equivocal. The results of some studies suggest that Hispanic clients prefer and

demonstrate more progress with therapists of their own ethnicity (Lorion, 1974; Palomares & Haro, 1971; Van Vranken, 1973). One study indicates that Hispanic clients prefer Anglos under some circumstances (Acosta, 1975); while several other investigations lead to the conclusion that the ethnicity variable is of only minor significance in Hispanics' choice of and attitude about psychotherapists (Beckner, 1970; Moll, Rueda, Reza, Herrera, & Vasquez, 1976). Similar equivocal data about the import of matching Hispanic consumers to Hispanic experts could be cited in relationship to the use of governmental, educational, legal, and medical supports. The contradictory results can, in some part, be accounted for by differences in populations sampled and, in large part by lack of control of potentially intervening variables (LeVine & Padilla, 1980). Thus, more thorough and operational investigations of consumer and expert ethnicities as these relate to Hispanics' use of U. S. institutions are needed.

In addition to the macro-analysis of ethnicity effects in institutional research, further analyses of micro-differences in communication between Hispanics and Anglos are needed. A number of social scientists posit that the typical style of Anglo communication clashes with the typical style of Hispanic communication so that Hispanics experience much frustration interacting with Anglo experts in U. S. institutions. Thus, it is posited that Hispanics drop-out of school early, and refuse available medical, psychological, and legal services because they feel misunderstood by experts in these institutions.

More specifically, researchers have theorized that Hispanic consumers, particularly the poor, prefer experts to communicate with them in a more directive style than do Anglos and that if Hispanics do not receive direction and advice from experts in an institution, they are likely to withdraw from the institutions' services. Several empirical studies support the thesis that Hispanics want directive communication from institutional experts. Through an extensive survey conducted in the eastern United States, it was concluded that Puerto Ricans expected their physicians to take an active part in the doctor/patient relationship and to offer advice as well as to prescribe medication (Abad, Ramos, & Boyce, 1974). In a second study, attitudes about therapy were elicited from a random sample of Hispanics in Lubbock, Texas. Subjects were interviewed in either Spanish or English, according to their preference, by a Hispanic examiner. The vast majority of English- and Spanish-speaking subjects preferred that a mental health professional offer direct advice, define problems for the client, and attempt to cheer up the client (Mack, James, Ramirez, & Bailey, 1974).

However, data are also accruing that are not congruent with the thesis that Hispanics prefer directive experts. The client gain in directive group counseling, noninterventionist group counseling based on Rogers (1970), and no-counseling control settings was compared using a sample of ninth- and tenth-grade Puerto Rican boys. Client gain was measured by increase in occupational aspiration, positive teacher ratings, gain in grade average, increased attendance at school, and decreased number of referrals to school administrators because of

discipline problems. No significant difference in gain was noted across the three groups. The experimental subjects responded to a questionnaire concerning their attitudes about the group therapies. No significant difference in attitude about counseling was recorded for subjects in nonintervention and directive group counseling (Naun, 1971).

Several researchers point out that directive communication in the form of confrontation, sarcasm, or teasing can be inappropriate for Hispanics. Teasing to stimulate a person toward action (labeled confrontation or paradoxical intention by psychotherapists) is so uncommon to Hispanics that a word does not exist to express it. In working with Puerto Ricans, the therapist wants to avoid inducing verguenza (shame). Confrontation must be limited and slow in order to avoid feelings of attack (Montijo, 1975). Directive communication based on confrontation may be inappropriate for Hispanics because it conflicts or contradicts the value of dignidad.

Given the limited and contradictory results, it is premature to limit the mode of communication with Hispanic consumers to a directive style. The variable of preferred style of communication between Hispanics and Anglos requires further exploration.

Some social scientists have suggested that self-disclosure style is a critical and impeding difference in communication between Anglos and Hispanics. During the standardization of his self-disclosure scale, Jourard (1971) observed that Black and Puerto Rican college students disclosed less about themselves to significant others, such as parents and friends, than did Anglo students. When a modified

version of Jourard's self-disclosure questionnaire was administered to White, Puerto Rican, and Hispanic ninth graders residing in Louisiana, Hispanics were significantly less willing to disclose information about themselves than were Anglos, and Black and Hispanic males disclosed less than Hispanic females (Littlefield, 1969).

In these two self-disclosure studies, no mention is made of examiner ethnicity. In a third study, a Hispanic examiner solicited Hispanic and Anglo college students' attitudes about disclosing personal information to a model Anglo therapist and a model Hispanic therapist, presented on audio tapes. Although self-disclosure was high for all subjects, the Hispanic students indicated significantly less willingness to disclose to either therapist than did the Anglo student (Acosta, 1975; Acosta & Sheehan, 1976). These studies consistently reveal less self-disclosure among Hispanics than among Anglos of various ages.

The thesis of less frequent and slower self-disclosure among Hispanics than Anglos has been broadly accepted, and a number of social service programs have been structured to incorporate this thesis. However, an important variable--experts' sex as it interacts with experts' ethnicity and consumers' sex and ethnicity--has not been investigated in those studies of Anglo-Hispanic patterns of self-disclosure, even though the importance of an examiner's sex on subject's self-report data has been well documented (Sattler, 1970). Thus, differences in self-disclosure patterns appear to be an important discriminant of Anglo and Hispanic styles of communication, so that <u>further investigation of self-disclosure patterns with consideration of the potential</u>

interaction of sex and ethnicity is well warranted.

The series of studies reported in this monograph address themselves to three primary issues about the communication dynamics between Anglos and Hispanics. Specifically, these studies investigate preference for experts' ethnicity by Anglo and Hispanic consumers; patterns in consumers' self-disclosure according to the expert's sex and ethnicity; and consumers' preference for experts' directive, nondirective, or neutral communication styles. These studies constitute the initial work towards analyzing communication dimensions that impede Hispanics' use of U. S. institutional services. Laboratory designs were employed so that extraneous variables that were problematic in previous research could be controlled. Of course, these analogue results determined in vitro simply point to the communication variables that must be investigated in vivo, in actual institutional settings. With recognition of the pioneer nature of these investigations in mind, the following analogue findings tend to support some of the assumptions about differences in communication between Anglo and Hispanics, refute other findings, and most importantly, specify some variables that may impede Anglo and Hispanic communication that have not been previously identified in theoretical or empirical writings.

Study 1

An Analogue Study of Counselor Ethnicity and Client Preference

Method

A study was conducted to investigate counselor preference among lower division Hispanic (30 males and 111 females) and Anglo (55 males and 187 females) students at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Students were asked to read a portfolio about a counselor and then respond to the following question: "If you needed to use a counselor, would you feel comfortable going to the person described above?" Students were randomly presented with one of four possible portfolios in which the counselor was either Anglo male, Anglo female, Hispanic male, or Hispanic female. In all cases, the counselor was identified as 30 years old, married, and with a master's degree in counseling. A photograph of the counselor was included. These photographs were preselected to be representative physiognomies of either Anglos or Hispanics. That is, one male and one female were selected that could be perceived as either Anglo or Hispanic. However, half of the male photographs were given a traditional Hispanic male name and half were labeled with an Anglo name. The same was done with the female portfolios. The portfolios were identical except for the counselor's name, sex, and photograph. Thus, the relationship between students' sex and ethnicity and willingness to see a counselor of a given sex and ethnicity could be investigated. Willingness to see the counselor was measured by a dichotomous yes/no response to the above-mentioned question.

The portfolios were administered three times (spring, summer, and fall) with increasingly more information provided about the counselor each time. On the first administration, 69 students received portfolios with only minimal information about the counselor. Their portfolios included information about the counselor's age, marital status, educational degrees, and work history.

In a second administration, 156 students received portfolios with a moderate amount of information about the counselor. The same photographs and names were employed, but students were also told the titles of the counselors' professional publications, membership in professional organizations, and professional experiences. Professional organizations listed were the American Psychological Association and the New Mexico Psychological Association. Titles of the fictitious publications ("Counseling College Students" and "The Relative Self-Esteem of High School and College Students") and the journals in which they were supposedly reported (Guidepost and Journal of Counseling Psychology) were selected to indicate some broad skill in the field of counseling, with no particular training in cross-cultural psychology implied.

In a third administration, much more information about the hypothetical counselor was provided. As well as receiving the same photographs, counselor's name, information about education, publications, and work history, the 158 students participating in this administration were given copies of letters of reference, transcripts, and an autobiographical sketch.

It is important to note that the counselors represented in the second and third portfolios were not more qualified. Rather, the counselor in each administration was presented with the identical educational and vocational background. However, increasingly more supportive data were provided in the second and third portfolios. The time spent reading the portfolios ranged from an average of two minutes on the first administration to an average of 10 minutes on the third administration. Thus, tedium could be expected to play a minimal role.

Results

The number of portfolios completed and returned for each counselor type was nearly equal: Hispanic male (100), Hispanic female (103), Anglo male (95), and Anglo female (85). The study was designed to investigate the effects of several variables on the students' willingness to seek counseling as measured by a dichotomous yes/no response. The variables investigated were sex and ethnicity of the counselor, sex and ethnicity of the student, and amount of information provided about the counselor.

The study suggests a 4 x 4 x 3 factorial design (two levels each of student sex and ethnicity by two levels each of counselor sex and ethnicity by three levels of portfolio length) analyzed with the chi-square test. This analysis, however, was not possible since some of the expected frequencies were less than one. When this occurs, Siegal (1956) recommends combining adjacent categories. Hence, collapsing of the data along various dimensions was necessary in answering specific questions.

Length of portfolio, sex, and ethnicity of counselor. Collapsing the data across students permitted analyzing of the data to determine if there were significant differences in the proportions of students willing to seek counseling when presented with varying degrees of information about the counselor.

Willingness to seek counseling was high regardless of the sex or ethnicity of the counselor, ranging from a low of 72% for all subjects during the first administration (minimal information conditions) to a high of 93% of the sample during the third and most informative administration. Using the chi-square test, a significant difference was found for both Anglo and Hispanic male counselors ($p<.01$). The amount of information provided about the female counselors did not affect the proportion of subjects willing to seek help from them.

Length of portfolio, sex, and ethnicity of students. The data were then analyzed in terms of student sex and ethnicity and their willingness to seek counseling as increasingly more information was provided about the counselors. The data were collapsed along the counselor dimension so that the results referred to counselors in general. The findings indicate a tendency for Anglos (both male, $p<.05$, and female, $p<.01$) to be more willing to see a counselor as increasingly more information is provided about the counselor. Willingness to see the counselor did not increase as more counselor information was provided for Hispanic students.

These findings indicate that provision with as much counselor information as possible should be considered for Anglo clients,

regardless of sex. Background information about therapists is unnecessary for Hispanic clients.

Matching sex and ethnicity. Perhaps of most importance is the question, "Are people more willing to seek counseling if the therapist is of the same sex and/or ethnicity (e.g., are Hispanics more willing to go to Hispanic counselors?) regardless of the amount of information provided about the counselors?" A 4 x 4 factorial design was used (two levels of sex and ethnicity for students and counselors). Again, the chi-square test was used with no significant differences found. It seems that neither Anglos nor Hispanics (regardless of sex) in this sample have a preference for counselors of the same sex and/or ethnicity as their own.

Summary

This study indicated that students were increasingly more willing to seek assistance from male (Anglo or Hispanic) counselors as more information was provided about them. Students felt comfortable seeking help from male counselors if they had considerable information about them. The proportion of students willing to go to female counselors was high regardless of the information provided about them. No differences were noted for female counselors of either ethnicity as more information was provided. Although both Anglo and Hispanic students reported more willingness to seek assistance from male counselors as information about them was increased, the Anglo more than the Hispanic students were responsive to the amount of counselor information provided.

Study 2

Effects of Administrator's Verbal Style, Sex and Ethnicity Upon Anglo and Hispanic Students' Seeking Further Interchange

Method

Four doctoral students in the Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology at New Mexico State University, a male and female Hispanic and a male and female Anglo, were trained to administer Jourard's (1971) Self-Disclosure Questionnaire in a directive, nondirective and neutral verbal style to college sophomores in the Colleges of Education and Arts and Sciences. The procedures for standardization were identical across the three verbal styles of administration; the three styles differed only in how the examiner verbally presented the questionnaire in each class.

After the examiners were trained, their effectiveness in portraying the three verbal styles was pilot-tested with groups of master level counseling students. The judges were asked to discriminate the styles presented by responding to a verbal checklist which asked them to identify which style was directive, nondirective and neutral. It was predetermined that an agreement of at least 90% among the judges would be accepted as evidence that the styles could be discriminated on the target dimension. Agreement of over 95% was achieved.

The examiners then administered the questionnaire to classes of college sophomores. Upon completing the questionnaire, students were

given the opportunity to sign-up if they would like to have a meeting with the examiner to discuss the results.

To one group of classes, the male or female, Anglo or Hispanic examiner presented the questionnaire in a directive style that simulated a directive therapy stance. The examiner introduced him or herself as Doctor, spoke of his or her credentials, led students through an oral reading of the written directions in a systematic fashion, asked students to hold their questions until all directions had been given and then answered questions in an authoritative manner. The examiner spoke of the positive gains of participation and quoted from experts about the benefits of studies such as this one.

In a second group of classrooms, the male or female examiner of each ethnicity presented the questionnaire in a nondirective style aimed at simulating client-centered approach to communication and therapy. The examiners introduced themselves by their first names. They shared feelings about being pleased to be a part of this study and invited the subjects to talk about their feelings and attitudes about participating. The examiners summarized and reflected all feelings expressed and were careful not to devalue the students' attitudes. Students were asked to read the written instructions silently and then discuss them as a group.

In a third group of classrooms, the Anglo and Hispanic, male and female administrators assumed a neutral, verbal stance. The examiners revealed nothing about themselves, spoke little and were careful to avoid any emotionally charged language. Students were asked to read

the written instructions and raise their hands if they had questions.

Thus, a total of 12 groups of college sophomores, 811 students participated in the study. Each examiner tested three groups, one with a directive verbal style, a second with a nondirective verbal style, and a third with a neutral verbal style. The effects of all combinations of examiner's sex, ethnicity, and verbal style could thus be investigated.

The dependent variable was students' willingness to sign-up for a later discussion of the results of the questionnaire with the examiner. Students stated their sex and ethnicity on the questionnaire answer sheet so that the interaction of subjects' sex and ethnicity with examiner's sex, ethnicity, and verbal style could be analyzed.

Four, 4 x 3, matrices were employed to analyze significant differences in students' willingness to sign-up for a discussion of their results. Examiner's verbal style versus subjects' sex and ethnicity were the coordinates for each matrix, and the data were analyzed with the chi-square statistical test (Spence, Cotton, Underwood, & Duncan, 1976).

Results

As demonstrated in Table 1, the examiner's sex and ethnicity did affect the subjects' willingness to sign-up under the various verbal styles of administration. Except for the Hispanic male students, who did not demonstrate a preference for administrative style as evidenced by sign-up frequencies, all groups preferred the Anglo male administrator to be directive (although Hispanic females were also willing to

Table 1

Number of Students Signing Up
for Feedback Session

Sex	Ethnicity	Administrative Style						Chi^2
		Non-directive		Neutral		Directive		
		Yes[a]	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Anglo Male Administrator								
Male	Anglo	0	3	0	7	5	3	8.648*
	Hispanic	2	5	1	3	3	4	.482
Female	Anglo	6	19	1	24	17	13	23.75 **
	Hispanic	7	2	4	12	11	9	6.95 *
Hispanic Male Administrator								
Male	Anglo	3	6	1	2	2	0	3.113
	Hispanic	0	4	0	1	2	2	3.203
Female	Anglo	2	16	6	6	10	6	10.188**
	Hispanic	2	10	6	9	10	4	8.008**
Anglo Female Administrator								
Male	Anglo	11	7	11	17	15	11	2.655
	Hispanic	6	3	3	14	6	8	4.342
Female	Anglo	20	14	15	25	13	22	3.410
	Hispanic	12	5	7	26	14	11	13.293**
Hispanic Female Administrator								
Male	Anglo	7	7	10	6	13	24	3.58
	Hispanic	4	1	4	4	5	8	2.49
Female	Anglo	14	14	8	17	12	14	1.9
	Hisparic	10	6	12	13	14	17	1.33

[a]Indicates whether or not they signed up

*$p \leq .05$

**$p \leq .01$

sign-up if the Anglo male administrator used a nondirective approach).

When the administrator was an Hispanic male, male subjects showed no preference for style but females (whether Anglo or Hispanic) preferred him to be directive.

When the administrator was Hispanic female, there was no significant difference in the sign-up frequencies of subjects of either sex or ethnicity regardless of verbal style.

Similarly, when the administrator was Anglo female, male and female Anglos and male Hispanic subjects did not prefer any particular style. However, Hispanic females were more likely to sign-up when the Anglo female administrator assumed a directive or nondirective versus a neutral verbal style.

Summary

The findings of this analogue study of the interactive effects of examiner's sex, ethnicity, and verbal style upon Anglo and Hispanic students' desire to seek test results suggest that Anglo male and female and Hispanic female students do respond differently to verbal styles of administration. Extrapolating these findings to institutional settings, it could be predicted that Anglo male, Anglo female, and Hispanic female consumers would be more likely to seek services from Anglo and Hispanic male experts who present their programs in a directive verbal style than in a nondirective or neutral style. In contrast, potential consumers that are male Hispanics are likely to respond equally well to programs presented by males who adopt a variety of verbal styles. When the experts are female, Anglo males, females, and

Hispanic males could be predicted to respond equally well to a variety of verbal styles. Hispanic females would be likely to seek services from Anglo female experts who present their programs in an emotionally charged manner (either directive or nondirective) than in a very neutral stance. These results stand in contrast to global conclusions suggesting that Hispanics prefer more directive approaches than t[illegible] Anglos.

Study 3

A Reassessment of Self-Disclosure Patterns Among Anglos and Hispanics

Method

This study investigated self-disclosure patterns among Anglo and Hispanic college students when examiner gender and ethnicity are systematically varied. More specifically, the study addressed the following questions: (a) Is there a significant difference in amount of reported self-disclosure between groups of different gender and ethnicity (Anglo and Hispanic)?; (b) is the amount of self-disclosure for the above groups influenced by examiner gender and ethnicity?; (c) is there a difference in targets (mother, father, etc.) to whom they prefer to self-disclose?; and (d) is there a difference in topics of their self-disclosure?.

Jourard's Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (1971) was administered to 155 Anglo (54 males and 101 females) and 119 Hispanic (30 males and 89 females) undergraduate students at New Mexico State University. Four doctoral students (Anglo male, Anglo female, Hispanic male, Hispanic female) in the Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology

at New Mexico State University were trained as administrators. In an effort to standardize the administrations, the students were coached to present the questionnaire in a very neutral stance, offering directions in a clear, concise style with little casual conversation or affect expressed.

Results

Subject gender and ethnicity. In accord with most of the previous research (Cozby, 1973), a significant difference in self-disclosure was noted according to subjects' sex and ethnicity. The analysis of variance results and group means are displayed in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance of Reported Self-Disclosure Scores (N=274)

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Mean	1	6426623	6426623.00	1010.55
Administration (Adm)	3	95569	31856.33	5.01**
Subject Sex (SS)	1	84856	84856.00	13.34**
Subject Ethnicity (SE)	1	86866	86866.00	13.66**
Adm X SS	3	66886	22295.33	3.51*
Adm X SE	3	75806	25268.66	3.97**
SS X SE	1	25583	25583.00	4.02*
Adm X SS X SE	3	86278	28759.33	4.52**
Error	258	1640764	6359.55	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

Table 3

Mean Self-Disclosure Scores for
Subjects by Sex and Ethnicity

Subjects	Mean	S.D.
Anglo Male	250.46	70.52
Hispanic Male	222.16	85.41
Anglo Female	286.20	85.87
Hispanic Female	266.01	69.12

In general, females reported more self-disclosure than males and Anglos more than Hispanics. Anglo females reported the highest mean self-disclosure followed by Hispanic females, Anglo males, and Hispanic males. It should be noted that the mean self-disclosure score for Hispanic males was dramatically lower than the mean scores for the other groups.

Administrators x subject sex x subject ethnicity. A major weakness of many studies on self-disclosure has been the analysis of sex and ethnicity variables in isolation. In this study, the sex and ethnicity of the person the subjects were responding to (administrators) was varied. Thus, a three-way factorial design (administrator x subject sex x subject ethnicity) was employed. The results are again displayed in Table 2. A significant interaction ($p<.01$) occurred, as illustrated in Figure 1.

The LSD test ($p\leq.05$ in all cases) was employed to ascertain exact points of significant interaction. When the administrator was male (either Anglo or Hispanic), the mean self-disclosure scores for Anglo

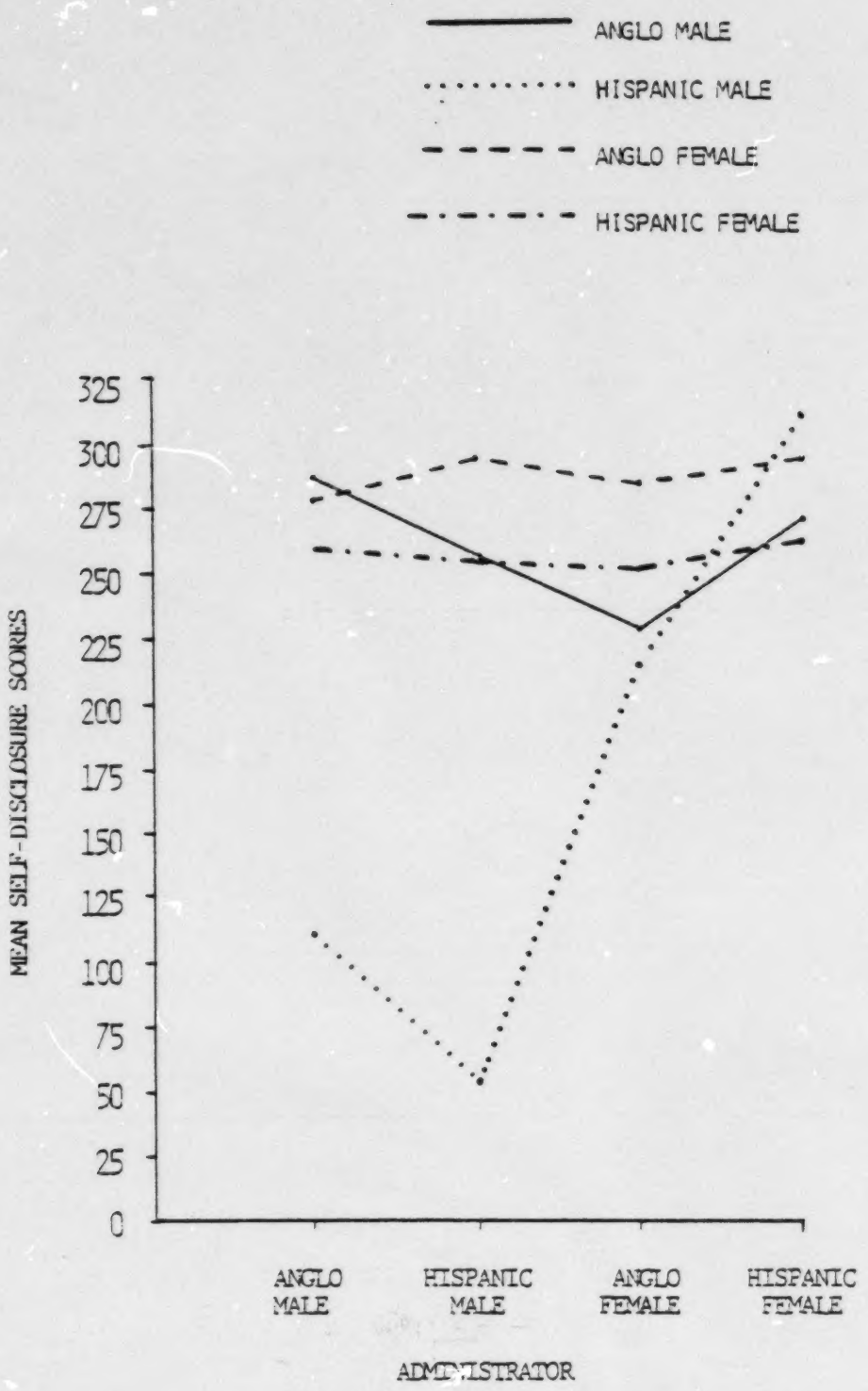

FIGURE 1. MEAN SELF-DISCLOSURE SCORES FOR SUBJECTS BY SEX AND ETHNICITY.

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and Hispanic females were significantly higher than the mean scores for Hispanic males. When the administrator was Anglo female, self-disclosure scores for Anglo female subjects were significantly higher than for the other three groups. Again, the mean score for Hispanic males was the lowest of the four groups. When the administrator was a female Hispanic, no significant differences occurred between groups. Interestingly, though, the mean score for Hispanic males was higher than for the other groups.

When the data are analyzed according to gender and ethnicity of subject, Anglos (of either gender) and Hispanic females show no significant difference in amount of disclosure regardless of administrator sex or ethnicity. Male Hispanics, however, disclose most when the administrator is a Hispanic female. They disclose less if the examiner is Anglo female but still significantly more than when the administrator is male.

Subject sex x subject ethnicity x target of disclosure. In addition to investigating self-disclosure among subjects under varied examiner conditions, analyses were undertaken to determine to which targets (mother, father, male friend, female friend, or spouse) subjects reported most willingness to disclose. In the preliminary analysis of the data, it was found that the target variable was not influenced by variations in the examiner gender and ethnicity ($F = 1.10$, $df = 11/1065$, n.s.). For this study, the examiner variable was collapsed and a three-way factorial design (subject sex x subject ethnicity x target) with five levels of target of disclosure (mother, father,

male friend, female friend, and spouse) was used. Since the subjects were undergraduate college students, many were single and did not respond to the items dealing with disclosure to spouse. As with other studies employing Jourard's (1971) scale, if a person was married and responded to the "spouse" questions, responses to items dealing with the opposite sex friend were not considered. In all cases, the total self-disclosure score was derived from four target categories. The results of the three-way factorial analysis of variance are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Analysis of Variance of Self-Disclosure Scores for the Variables: Subject Gender and Ethnicity and Target of Disclosure

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Subject Sex (SS)	1	3070.957	3070.957	2.03
Subject Ethnicity (SE)	1	5055.244	5055.255	8.24
SS X SE	1	44.901	44.901	.03
Error A	270	408870.830	1514.336	
Target (T)	4	25858.226	6464.557	12.32*
SS X T	4	20213.215	5053.304	9.63*
SE X T	4	1489.730	372.433	.71
SS X SE X T	4	1182.873	295.718	.56
Error B	863	452902.062	524.800	

*$p \leq .01$

There is significant sex x target interaction. In general, females report that they self-disclose significantly more to "mother" and "female friend" whereas males report significantly more self-disclosure

to "spouse." Ethnicity does not appear to be a factor in determining target to whom people disclose.

Subject sex x subject ethnicity x topic of disclosure. Another dimension of interest in this study was preferred topic of disclosure by subjects of each sex and ethnicity. Again, a three-way factorial design was employed with six levels of topic (attitudes, taste, work, money, personality, and body). Table 5 displays the results of this analysis.

Table 5

Analyses of Variance of Self-Disclosure Scores for the Variables: Subject Gender, Ethnicity, and Topic of Disclosure (N=274)

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Subject Sex (SS)	1	7554.065	7554.065	7.68*
Subject Ethnicity (SE)	1	1683.809	1603.809	1.71
SS x SE	1	418.969	418.969	.43
Error A	270	265559.441	983.553	
Topic (T)	5	34451.053	6890.211	62.62*
SS X T	5	3416.075	683.215	6.21*
SE X T	5	86.891	17.378	.16
SS X SE X T	5	762.401	152.480	1.39
Error B	1365	150193.453	110.031	

*$p \leq .01$

Once again, the only factor which significantly influenced subjects' preferred topic of self-disclosure was sex. Males and females disclose most about work and tastes and disclose equally about work

and money. Females disclose significantly more than males about their attitudes (e.g., religion), tastes (e.g., food, music), personality (e.g., things that they dislike, worry about, or regard as handicaps to themselves), and their bodies (e.g., feelings about the appearance of their face). Again, ethnicity was not a factor in reported preferred topics of disclosure.

As suggested by Jourard (1971), a perusal of the data reveals that high self-disclosers tend to report consistently high self-disclosure about various topics to various individuals.

Summary of results. The results of Study 3 demonstrate the complexity of the self-disclosure phenomenon, especially when the variables of sex and ethnicity are systematically considered. Most cross-cultural studies of self-disclosure conclude that Hispanic and Blacks are less self-disclosing than Anglos, and that, in general, females disclose more than males. These results suggest that previous designs may have masked significant intervening variables. In this investigation, the overall trend of lower self-disclosure among Hispanics and males was upheld in the gross analysis. However, when the gender and ethnicity of the administrator was systematically varied, this trend was not upheld. Under specific conditions, Hispanics reported self-disclosure frequencies comparable to or surpassing self-disclosures reported by Anglos. Most dramatically, Hispanic males reported the highest self-disclosure of the gender and ethnicity groups when the administrator is a Hispanic female. In addition, Hispanic females report high self-disclosures with female (whether Anglo or Hispanic)

administrators. Anglo males reported the highest rate of self-disclosure of the four gender/ethnicity groups when the examiner was of like sex and ethnicity.

Subject ethnicity was not a factor in determining preferred topics or targets of self-disclosure. However, subject preference of self-disclosure topics and targets did differ in relationship to their gender. Females were more disclosing to their mothers and female friends and disclosed more about their personality, attitudes, taste, and body than their male counterparts. Males appeared most self-disclosing to their spouses, and disclosed most about taste and work.

This research points to the potential importance of Hispanic experts working with Hispanic consumers, specifically, Hispanic female experts communicating with Hispanic male consumers. This sex-ethnicity matching may not always be necessary or appropriate, but may be particularly helpful if issues of limited self-disclosure by the Hispanic male consumer arise.

Discussion

The results of these three analogue studies illuminate several dimensions of communication patterns between Anglos and Hispanics that may bear upon Hispanics' use of U. S. institutions and, therefore, should be investigated further through *in vivo* research. The results of Study 1 suggest that Anglo and Hispanic consumers (students) might feel equally comfortable with Anglo and Hispanic experts (hypothetical counselors). However, the results of Study 3, conducted with a similar population of students, indicate that despite the students' stated

overall comfort with either Anglo or Hispanic experts, specific self-report, self-disclosure patterns did vary with the experts' sex and ethnicity. Ethnicity matching may not always be necessary or appropriate but may be particularly helpful if issues of limited self-disclosure by Hispanic consumers arise. If ethnicity matching is deemed appropriate, gender of consumer and expert must also be considered. The results of Study 3 highlight the importance of the gender/ethnicity interaction. Hispanic males disclosed high with the Hispanic female administrator, but low with the Hispanic male administrator.

The results of Study 2 stand in contrast to the global conclusions of cross-cultural communication literature that state Hispanics prefer directive communication more than Anglos. Findings of Study 2 indicate that Anglo males and females and Hispanic females all prefer directive communication about some topics, depending upon the experts' sex and ethnicity. Further research in institutional settings is now needed to determine the exact circumstances under which Anglo and Hispanic, male and female consumers prefer directive communication. The results of Study 2 further suggest that both the sex and ethnicity of the experts must be systematically controlled in such investigations.

It is interesting to note that across all three studies, gender of subject and administrator wrought significant effects. Often, gender more than ethnicity interacted with the dependent communication variables. Thus, the results of these studies point to the importance in future investigations conducted in institutional settings, of carefully attending to consumers' reactions to and communication styles with experts of each gender.

The present investigators are now designing several studies to more fully explicate the role of therapist's sex, ethnicity, and verbal style upon clients' self-disclosure during the counseling process, as it relates to therapy outcome. In the future studies, other potential intervening variables such as subject and examiner level of acculturation, age, educational status, and socioeconomic level will be investigated. Similar studies conducted in other institutional settings will help break down over-simplistic conclusions about factors impeding Anglo-Hispanic communications and will pave the way to more open use of U. S. institutional services by this largest growing minority group.

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